

Message Text

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LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UN, XA, SF, NI

SUBJECT: 32ND UNGA DISARMAMENT DEBATE: INSTRUCTIONS ON
NON-PROLIFERATION/SOUTH AFRICA AND AFRICAN NUCLEAR WEAPON
FREE ZONE (ANWFZ)--NIGERIAN RESOLUTION

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REF: (A) USUN 3936; (B) USUN 4056

1. WE WELCOME INTEREST OF NIGERIAN PERMREP (ADENIJI) IN
INTRODUCING A RESOLUTION THAT WOULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF US
EFFORTS TO OBTAIN SOUTH AFRICAN NPT ADHERENCE AND ACCEPT-
ANCE OF FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS. THE KIND OF RESOLUTION HE
HAS PROPOSED STRIKES US AS POTENTIALLY HELPFUL AND GIVEN

NIGERIA'S LEADERSHIP ROLE ON AFRICAN AND DISARMAMENT ISSUES IN THE UN WE WOULD VALUE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THEM AS DISCUSSIONS ON THEIR RESOLUTION MOVE ALONG.

2. USUN SHOULD ADVISE ADENIJI OF THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS, STRESSING THAT WHILE WE COULD NOT SUPPORT NIGERIAN TEXT AS IT STANDS WE WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH THE NIGERIANS IN AN EFFORT TO DEVELOP A TEXT WHICH BOTH OF US COULD ACCEPT. MISSION SHOULD INFORM ADENIJI THAT PRIOR TO DETAILED DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM, WE WOULD WISH TO CONSULT WITH OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, IN PARTICULAR WESTERN MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL. MISSION SHOULD DETERMINE WHETHER UK,

FRG AND CANADA COULD SUPPORT NIGERIAN RESOLUTION WITH AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BELOW. WE ASSUME THAT FRENCH ARE UNLIKELY TO GO ALONG REGARDLESS OF HOW NIGERIAN DRAFT IS AMENDED. FOLLOWING THESE CONSULTATIONS AND ASSUMING NO STRONG OBJECTION FROM ANY OF THE FOUR, DEL SHOULD CONVEY OUR POSITION TO ADENIJI.

3. WE SUPPORT NIGERIA'S DECISION THAT A RESOLUTION ON AN AFRICAN NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE ZONE (ANWFZ) WOULD BE THE BEST APPROACH. WE BELIEVE IT COULD BE FRAMED SO AS TO SUPPORT OUR OBJECTIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND OUR INTEREST IN FOSTERING SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF A REGIONAL NWFZ.

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FYI. IN OCTOBER 19 REMARKS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION CONFERENCE, PRESIDENT CARTER STATED HIS SUPPORT FOR APPLYING THE EXAMPLE OF THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO TO OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. END FYI.

4. THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION PRESENTS A CONTINUING CHALLENGE TO US GLOBAL STRATEGY ON NON-PROLIFERATION, AND IS ALSO OF SERIOUS CONCERN TO THE NATIONS OF THE AREA. WE HOPE SAG WILL AGREE TO ADHERE TO THE NPT AND TO ACCEPT IMMEDIATE APPLICATION OF IAEA SAFEGUARDS TO ITS PILOT ENRICHMENT PLANT AT VALINDABA. WE BELIEVE THAT THE PROSPECT OF A STABLE CIVIL NUCLEAR SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US AND OTHERS COULD ENHANCE THE POSSIBILITY OF A POSITIVE SAG RESPONSE TO OUR PROPOSALS. CONSEQUENTLY, A UNGA RESOLUTION WHICH UNCONDITIONALLY CONDEMNS ALL NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA WOULD DIMINISH

TIVES. WE ALSO COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY RESOLUTION WITH LANGUAGE THAT INFERRED, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WESTERN NUCLEAR SUPPLY AND SAG WEAPONS AMBITIONS OR CAPABILITIES.

5. WE APPRECIATE ADENIJI EFFORTS TO FRAME A RESOLUTION THAT US COULD SUPPORT. HOWEVER, THE PRESENT DRAFT PRESENTS US WITH SOME PROBLEMS. YOU SHOULD OFFER THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS IN RESPONSE TO ADENIJI INTEREST IN OBTAINING US SUPPORT--THANKING HIM FOR SOLICITING OUR VIEWS.

6. OUR PROBLEMS WITH THE RESOLUTION AS REPORTED IN REF B CONCERN BOTH STYLE AND SUBSTANCE. WE BELIEVE SOME LANGUAGE COULD BE MODERATED IN A WAY THAT WOULD NOT CHANGE THE SUBSTANTIVE CONCERNS EXPRESSED, BUT WOULD LIKELY ALLOW THE RESOLUTION TO GENERATE MORE SUPPORT. YOU SHOULD EMPHASIZE TO ADENIJI THAT OUR SUGGESTIONS DO NOT REFLECT ANY LESSENING OF OUR SERIOUS CONCERN OVER THE SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR
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ISSUE. WE ARE SOLELY MOTIVATED BY THE POTENTIAL FOR GENERATING WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR OUR CURRENT EFFORTS WITH THE SAG AND TO AVOID ANY LANGUAGE THAT WOULD DILUTE OUR EXISTING LEVERAGE ON SAG OR STIFFEN SAG RESOLVE TO SPURN THE OBJECTIVES WE SEEK.

7. PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH 3 COULD BE CHANGED TO BEGIN QUOTE ALSO RECALLING ITS RES 31/69 OF 10TH DECEMBER 1976 IN WHICH IT EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER SOUTH AFRICA'S NUCLEAR WEAPON POTENTIAL. END QUOTE. THIS TRACKS LANGUAGE FROM PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH 4 OF LAST YEAR'S RESOLUTION.

8. PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH 4 COULD BE CHANGED TO READ QUOTE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED AT RECENT ALLEGATIONS THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS PLANNING TO DETONATE A NUCLEAR EXPLOSION AND DEVELOP A NUCLEAR WEAPON CAPABILITY. END QUOTE. TO CHARACTERIZE RECENT EVENTS AS AN ATTEMPT BY SOUTH AFRICA TO DETONATE A WEAPON WOULD BE OVERSTATING THE CASE.

9. PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH 5 COULD BE MODERATED AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN QUOTE. CONVINCED THAT A SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR WEAPON AMBITION WOULD CONSTITUTE A SERIOUS DANGER, ETC. END QUOTE.

10. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 2 COULD BE CHANGED AS FOLLOWS: BEGIN QUOTE. CALLS UPON SOUTH AFRICA TO RESPECT AND ABIDE BY ITS PUBLIC ASSURANCES PROVIDED TO CERTAIN COUNTRIES THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE AND DOES NOT PLAN TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICES FOR ANY PURPOSE. END QUOTE. THIS HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF NOTING SAG ASSURANCES ALREADY GIVEN.

11. OUR PRINCIPAL SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEM CONCERNS OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 3. CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAVE
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BEEN TAKING MEASURES AIMED AT PREVENTING SAG FROM ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND IT WOULD SEEM MORE APPROPRIATE TO ENCOURAGE THESE CONTINUING EFFORTS THAN TO CALL UPON THE SECURITY COUNCIL FOR ACTION. ALTERNATE LANGUAGE BEGIN QUOTE URGES MEMBER STATES IN A POSITION TO DO SO TO TAKE APPROPRIATE EFFECTIVE STEPS TO PREVENT SOUTH AFRICA FROM DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. END QUOTE.

12. WE ARE PLEASED WITH NIGERIAN FORMULATION ON NUCLEAR COOPERATION ISSUE IN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 4, BUT WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST A COUPLE CHANGES THAT WOULD TIGHTEN UP THE LANGUAGE IN ONE PLACE AND IN ANOTHER WOULD ALLOW US SOME FLEXIBILITY IN THE TIMING OF ANY FUTURE NUCLEAR COOPERATION VIS-A-VIS SAG WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT OUR CONDITIONS. INITIAL CLAUSE WITH CHANGES WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS BEGIN QUOTE. APPEALS TO ALL STATES TO REFRAIN FROM EXPORTING ANY NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT, MATERIALS, OR TECHNOLOGY TO SOUTH AFRICA UNTIL IT AGREES TO SUBMIT ALL ITS PROGRAMS TO IAEA SAFEGUARDS, ETC. END QUOTE. FIRST CHANGE ELIMINATES ANY POSSIBLE AMBIGUITY IN PHRASE NUCLEAR COOPERATION AND PROVIDES A PRECISE DEFINITION OF OBLIGATIONS SUPPLIER COUNTRIES ARE BEING URGED TO ASSUME. FYI: SUCH A CHANGE ALSO REMOVES THE POSSIBILITY THAT NUCLEAR COOPERATION PHRASE COULD BE APPLIED TO PREVENT POSSIBLE SAG PARTICIPATION IN INFCE. END FYI. SECOND CHANGE, I.E., ADDITION OF AGREES TO, IS SUGGESTED BECAUSE WE MAY WANT THE FLEXIBILITY TO APPROVE AN EXPORT UPON SAG AGREEMENT TO SUBMIT ALL ITS PROGRAMS TO IAEA SAFEGUARDS RATHER THAN WAITING UNTIL IT ACTUALLY SUBMITS. LATTER COULD IMPLY WAITING UNTIL NEGOTIATIONS WITH IAEA HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED, AGREEMENT APPROVED BY IAEA BOARD, IMPLEMENTATION PROCEDURES WORKED OUT, ETC. IF NIGERIANS RAISE THE POINT ABOUT A DELAY BETWEEN AGREEMENT TO SUBMIT AND ACTUAL SUBMITTAL, YOU MAY ASSURE THEM WE WOULD MONITOR SITUATION CLOSELY AND TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION IF SAG WAS NOT ACTING IN GOOD FAITH. WE COULD NOT CONTENANCE ANY UNUSUAL DELAY SINCE APPLICATION
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OF IAEA SAFEGUARDS IS OUR MOST URGENT NEAR TERM OBJECTIVE. THE FINAL CLAUSE OF OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 4 PRESENTS NO PROBLEM BECAUSE ANY COOPERATION IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD REQUIRES USG APPROVAL.

13. ALTHOUGH WE ARE HOPEFUL PROCEDURE AS OUTLINED ABOVE WILL BEAR FRUIT, WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THIS TYPE OF RESOLU-

TION CAN EASILY BECOME TOO EXTREME FOR US TO SUPPORT AND WOULD THEN STAND LITTLE CHANCE OF WINNING BROAD ACCEPTANCE OTHER THAN AMONG NONALIGNED DELEGATIONS.

14. WE REMAIN FLEXIBLE ON CHANGES SUGGESTED PARAS 7-12. ADENIJI INTEREST IN OBTAINING US SUPPORT GREATLY OUTWEIGHS OUR ATTACHMENT TO PRECISE NATURE OF THESE SUGGESTIONS. WHILE NOT WANTING TO CO-SPONSOR, WE COULD QUIETLY SUPPORT ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION REFLECTING CHANGES OUTLINED ABOVE. HOWEVER, WITHOUT MODERATION OF SOME LANGUAGE AND APPROPRIATE CHANGES TO OPERATIVE PARAS 3 AND 4, US WOULD HAVE TO ABSTAIN OR OPPOSE.

15. FYI: WE RECOGNIZE THAT SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND APARTHEID MAY INVOLVE DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAVE SOME BEARING ON THE SUGGESTIONS MADE ABOVE. NEVERTHELESS, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO DEAL WITH THIS ISSUE IN THE FIRST COMMITTEE CONTEXT AND TO MAINTAIN DIALOGUE WITH NIGERIANS ON THE TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF WEST'S NUCLEAR RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA. END FYI VANCE

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